

## Message Text

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PAGE 01 LONDON 14828 01 OF 04 251838Z

41

ACTION SS-25

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 SSO-00 /026 W  
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R 251633Z SEP 75

FM AMEMBASSY LONDON

TO SECSTATE WASHDC 5076

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STADIS//////////

EXDIS

E.O. 11652: N/A

TAGS: OGEN

SUBJECT: OPERATION CLEAN SLATE

REF: STATE 187615

FOR EAGLEBURGER AND HARTMAN FROM AMBASSADOR

### 1. GENERAL

YOUR INVITATION TO SEND YOU MY IDEAS ABOUT HOW THIS EMBASSY MIGHT BE ORGANIZED TO PROMOTE MORE EFFECTIVELY US OBJECTIVES IN THE UNITED KINGDOM IS TIMELY. EVEN AFTER ONLY SEVEN MONTHS AS AMBASSADOR, I SENSE THE NEED FOR A REDEFINITION OF OUR OBJECTIVES IN THE UNITED KINGDOM AND A FRESH LOOK AT OUR DIPLOMATIC METHOD.

A DYNAMIC CONCEPT OF OUR GOALS IN THIS COUNTRY SHOULD ENCOMPASS MORE THAN MAINTENANCE OF GOOD RELATIONS, IMPORTANT AS THAT OBJECTIVE MAY BE; IT SHOULD EMPHASIZE THE IMPORTANCE OF ATTENTION TO A WIDE VARIETY OF SUBJECTS IN FIELDS OF PUBLIC POLICY WHICH HAVE HITHERTO BEEN VIRTUALLY NEGLECTED. A FRESH APPROACH TO DIPLOMATIC METHOD SHOULD CONCENTRATE ON FINDING WAYS TO COLLABORATE WITH THE BRITISH MORE ACTIVELY TO OUR OWN BENEFIT,

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PAGE 02 LONDON 14828 01 OF 04 251838Z

POSSIBLY WITH THE CONSEQUENCE OF EXERTING A MEANINGFUL

INFLUENCE ON BRITISH POLICY.

WE MUST, OF COURSE, CARRY ON THE TRADITIONAL BUSINESS OF DIPLOMACY, I.E., ENCOURAGE UNDERSTANDING AND SUPPORT OF US POLICY, AND SEEK THE SUPPORT OF THE BRITISH ABROAD TO THE EXTENT THEY ARE ABLE TO GIVE IT. BUT THE SALIENT FEATURE OF BRITAIN TODAY IS CHANGE - IN ITS OVERSEAS POSITION AND INTERNALLY; AND WE SHOULD ADJUST THE PRIORITIES OF OUR OBJECTIVES IN THE LIGHT OF THE FORCES OF CHANGE OPERATING IN BRITAIN. DESPITE ITS SHRINKING POWER BASE THE UK IS, AND WILL CONTINUE TO BE, A STAUNCH ALLY OF THE US. ITS CONCENTRATION ON EUROPE WITH THE CONSEQUENT WITHDRAWAL FROM MOST OF THE REST OF THE WORLD SEEMS TO BE AN IRREVERSIBLE FACT. TRADE AND INVESTMENT PATTERNS HAVE CHANGED AS A CONSEQUENCE.

IN BRITISH DOMESTIC AFFAIRS THE PROCESS OF SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC CHANGE IS ACCELERATING. BRITAIN IS IN A TRANSITIONAL STAGE OF DEVELOPMENT FROM AN INDUSTRIAL TO POST-INDUSTRIAL SOCIETY, AND IS CONFRONTING PROBLEMS WITH WHICH THE US ALSO MAY BEFORE LONG HAVE TO COPE. I BELIEVE THAT WE HAVE NEGLECTED THE FIELD OF SOCIAL POLICY, UNDERSTANDABLY PERHAPS GIVEN OUR ON-GOING RESPONSIBILITIES AND TO AN EXTENT BECAUSE OF THE WAY WE HAVE ORGANIZED THE EMBASSY. HOW BRITAIN COPE WITH THE PROBLEMS OF AN INTENSELY URBANIZED INDUSTRIAL SOCIETY IN TRANSITION MAY WELL DETERMINE WHETHER THE UK BECOMES A COLLECTIVIZED STATE OR ONE IN WHICH A REASONABLE BALANCE IS STRUCK BETWEEN FREE CHOICE AND COLLECTIVISM. INNOVATIVE IDEAS AND SOLUTIONS FROM WHICH THE US HAS MUCH TO LEARN ARE BEING DISCUSSED AND IMPLEMENTED. TO UNDERSTAND AND POSSIBLY EVEN HAVE SOME INFLUENCE ON THE PROCESS OF SOCIAL CHANGE IN BRITAIN COULD OPEN UP A WHOLE NEW DIMENSION IN DIPLOMACY WHICH I THINK WELL WORTH THE EFFORT.

TO CONDUCT THE KIND OF ACTIVIST DIPLOMACY WHICH OUR NATIONAL INTERESTS REQUIRE IN THE UK, THE EMBASSY MUST HAVE A MAJOR ROLE. WE WILL NEED TO BE MORE FULLY ENGAGED IN THE PROCESS OF OFFICIAL INTERCOURSE WITH THE BRITISH LIMITED OFFICIAL USE

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PAGE 03 LONDON 14828 01 OF 04 251838Z

AND HAVE THE STANDING WITH THE BRITISH WHICH COMES FROM THEIR KNOWING THAT WASHINGTON CONSIDERS THE EMBASSY'S ROLE TO BE A CENTRAL ONE. WE WILL NEED MORE INFORMATION ABOUT WASHINGTON THINKING. DEPARTMENTS OF GOVERNMENT OTHER THAN THE STATE AND DEFENSE DEPARTMENTS WILL NEED TO MAKE CLEAR TO US THEIR REASONABLE REQUIREMENTS IN THE UK, AND WE MUST BE EQUIPPED WITH RESOURCES AND PEOPLE TO MEET THESE REQUIREMENTS. MOST OF ALL WE NEED TOP-FLIGHT

PEOPLE, AS I WILL DISCUSS MORE FULLY BELOW. IN SUM, WE

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PAGE 01 LONDON 14828 02 OF 04 251842Z

41

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FM AMEMBASSY LONDON  
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 5077

LIMITED OFFICIAL USE SECTION 02 OF 04 LONDON 14828

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EXDIS

AS A NATION HAVE MUCH TO LEARN FROM BOTH THE SUCCESSES  
AND FAILURES OF THE BRITISH SEARCH FOR SOLUTIONS TO SOME  
OF THE BESETTING SOCIO-ECONOMIC PROBLEMS WE TOO ARE LIKELY  
TO ENCOUNTER AS A SOCIETY, AND YET ARE NOT WITHIN THE  
NORMAL TRADITIONAL COMPASS OF DIPLOMATIC ACTIVITY. I  
AM IMPRESSED THAT WE HAVE NOT DEVELOPED A SYSTEMATIC WAY  
OF FOLLOWING, ASSESSING, INFLUENCING AND LEARNING FROM  
HOW BRITAIN IS APPROACHING PROBLEMS OF THE DIVISION OF  
WEALTH, THE ROLE OF PRIVATE VS. PUBLIC INVESTMENTS, LABOR  
RELATIONS, INDUSTRIAL PARTICIPATION, PUBLIC HEALTH AND  
A MULTITUDE OF SIMILAR PROBLEMS WHICH ARE AS IMPORTANT  
TO OUR FUTURES AS FREE SOCIETIES AS EAST-WEST RELATIONS,  
THE MIDDLE EAST, ETC. PERHAPS A DISPROPORTIONATE SHARE  
OF OUR RESOURCES IS DEVOTED TO DAY-TO-DAY REPORTING OF  
MORE TRANSIENT INTEREST AND SIGNIFICANCE.

## 2. MANPOWER

IDEALLY TO CARRY OUT THE KIND OF DIPLOMACY I HAVE IN  
MIND THERE SHOULD BE A SUBSTANTIAL EXPANSION OF EMBASSY  
ACTIVITY AND INCREASES OF PERSONNEL OF HIGH QUALITY SO  
THAT WE COULD DO OUR JOB IN DEPTH, REACHING OUT, ALONG

THE LINES OF OUR INTEGRATED CULTURAL AND INFORMATION PROGRAMS, TO INFLUENTIAL SEGMENTS OF BRITISH OPINION WHICH WE HAVE HITHERTO NOT HAD THE RESOURCES TO TAP LIMITED OFFICIAL USE

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PAGE 02 LONDON 14828 02 OF 04 251842Z

ADEQUATELY. OF THE 683 PERSONNEL (US AND LOCAL) ON OUR ROLLS I AM CONSTANTLY AWARE THAT ONLY 48 ARE FSO'S. MANY OF THE ACTIVITIES OF THIS EMBASSY ARE REQUIRED BY STATUTE AND ENTAIL THE PRESENCE OF PERSONNEL WHO CONTRIBUTE LITTLE TO THE CENTRAL MISSION OF THE EMBASSY. IF THESE REQUIREMENTS COULD BE REDUCED BY LEGISLATIVE AND DEPARTMENTAL ACTION RESOURCES COULD BE FREED FOR INCREASED CENTRAL PROGRAM ACTIVITY.

REALISTICALLY, HOWEVER, WE COULD NOT EXPECT THE REQUIRED SWEEPING LEGISLATIVE CHANGES NECESSARY FOR THE TRADE-OFFS IN STAFFS FROM OTHER AGENCIES WHOSE FUNCTIONS ARE OF LESS RELEVANCE TO US OBJECTIVES, CAN BE EASILY OR QUICKLY MADE. SIMILARLY, A QUANTUM JUMP IN FUNDS AND POSITIONS ALLOCATED TO THIS EMBASSY IS NOT A REALISTIC EXPECTATION. SO RELUCTANTLY, I CONCLUDE THAT LESS AMBITIOUS CHANGES SHOULD BE MADE WHICH ARE FEASIBLE. THEIR IMPLEMENTATION WILL, HOWEVER, REQUIRE INTENSIVE AND VIGOROUS ACTION BY THE DEPARTMENT.

WITHIN THE STATE PROGRAM I WOULD LIKE TO SEE A SIGNIFICANT REALIGNMENT OF PERSONNEL. WE COULD, FOR EXAMPLE, IF OUR VISA FUNCTION WERE REDUCED (ELIMINATION OF VISITOR'S VISAS FOR BRITISH SUBJECTS), SAVE ABOUT 7 POSITIONS. THESE I WOULD TRANSFER TO THE POLITICAL AND ECONOMIC SECTIONS.

AUGMENTED POLITICAL AND ECONOMIC SECTIONS WOULD BE ABLE TO INTENSIFY THEIR COVERAGE OF BRITISH DEVELOPMENTS IN THE FIELDS OF SOCIAL POLICY AS WELL AS TREAT IN MORE DEPTH THE PRIORITY SUBJECTS OF NATIONAL SECURITY, US-EC RELATIONS, TRADE AND INVESTMENT. WE WOULD THEN HAVE THE CAPACITY TO DO COMPREHENSIVE STUDIES AND ASSESSMENTS OF FACETS OF BRITISH POLITICAL/ECONOMIC LIFE WHICH OUR DAILY OPERATIONAL REQUIREMENTS HAVE HITHERTO MADE IT DIFFICULT TO DO. SUCH STUDIES WOULD PROVIDE USEFUL INSIGHTS INTO PUBLIC POLICY TRENDS WHICH IT IS ESSENTIAL FOR THE US POLICYMAKERS TO UNDERSTAND. MORE PERSONNEL IN THE POLITICAL AND ECONOMIC AREAS WOULD ENABLE US TO INTENSIFY THE EXCELLENT COOPERATION WE HAVE ENJOYED WITH THE USIS TEAM, E.G., IN ARRANGING LIMITED OFFICIAL USE

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PAGE 03 LONDON 14828 02 OF 04 251842Z

CONFERENCES, SEMINARS, PUTTING ACROSS US VIEWPOINTS IN A WIDE VARIETY OF FIELDS OF MUTUAL INTEREST. SUCH AUGMENTATION WOULD BETTER EQUIP US FOR OUR ADVOCACY ROLE AND ABILITY TO ENGAGE THE BRITISH IN COLLABORATIVE ACTIVITY SUCH, FOR EXAMPLE, AS WE ARE NOW DOING IN THE AREA OF STANDARDIZATION IN NATO.

3. MONEY

AN INDISPENSABLE CONCOMITANT TO AN INTENSIFIED EMBASSY PROGRAM IS MONEY. WE NEED, FOR EXAMPLE, TO DO MORE TRAVELLING. IT WILL BE INCREASINGLY IMPORTANT TO DO SO AS REGIONAL TRENDS BECOME STRONGER AND DEVOLUTION IS GIVEN EFFECT. WE NEED MORE MONEY FOR REPRESENTATION, AND WE SHOULD HAVE MORE POSITIONS IN THE INTERNATIONAL VISITOR GRANT PROGRAM WHICH WE HAVE FOUND TO BE EXTREMELY EFFECTIVE IN INFLUENCING ATTITUDES OF YOUNGER PUBLIC FIGURES.

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PAGE 01 LONDON 14828 03 OF 04 251846Z

41

ACTION SS-25

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LIMITED OFFICIAL USE SECTION 03 OF 04 LONDON 14828

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4. THE DCM

WE CONTINUE TO NEED STRONG EXECUTIVE DIRECTION, AND

I BELIEVE THAT IN AN EMBASSY OF THIS SIZE THE DCM ROLE IS A FULL-TIME ONE. IT WOULD NOT SUFFICE TO "DOUBLE HAT" ONE OF THE COUNSELORS TO SERVE AS DEPUTY TO THE CHIEF OF MISSION. THE DCM NOW MUST DIVIDE HIS TIME SOMEWHAT UNEVENLY BETWEEN ADVISING ME, COORDINATING THE SUBSTANTIVE WORK OF THE SEVERAL SECTIONS, ACTING AS GENERAL MANAGER OF THE EMBASSY, AND CARRYING A LARGE SHARE OF THE REPRESENTATIONAL WORK. AT PERIODS, MOST OF HIS TIME IS SPENT ACTING AS A KIND OF EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR. I AM INTRIGUED BY THE BRITISH CONCEPT OF HEAD OF CHANCERY, AN ARRANGEMENT WHICH I UNDERSTAND HAS BEEN VERY SUCCESSFUL IN ASSURING TIGHT EXECUTIVE CONTROL OF BRITISH MISSIONS AND AT THE SAME TIME RELIEVING THE DCM OF ARDUOUS RESPONSIBILITIES WHICH DETRACT FROM HIS FUNCTION OF ALTER EGO OF THE AMBASSADOR, AND THINK WE SHOULD EXAMINE THE APPLICATION OF THIS CONCEPT TO OUR OWN SERVICE.

#### 5. INTERNAL ORGANIZATION

I DO NOT FAVOR AMALGAMATION OF THE POLITICAL AND ECONOMIC SECTIONS DESPITE MY SUGGESTED LIMITED OFFICIAL USE

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PAGE 02 LONDON 14828 03 OF 04 251846Z

GESTIONS FOR MORE INTENSE WORK IN AREAS OF SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC POLICY. THERE IS A DISTINCTION BETWEEN THE TWO, IF ONLY IN A SPECIALIST CAREER SENSE, WHICH SHOULD BE PRESERVED. WE HAVE NOT FOUND THAT THE EXISTENCE OF TWO SEPARATE SECTIONS HAS BEEN A BAR TO EFFECTIVE COLLABORATION. IN MY EXPERIENCE THE QUALITY OF PERSONNEL, NOT STRUCTURES, ASSURES COOPERATIVE EFFORT.

#### 6. JUNIOR OFFICERS

ON STAFFING, I WANT HIGHLY MOTIVATED, RESOURCEFUL ACTIVIST OFFICERS. I AM PLEASED WITH THE PROFESSIONALISM OF MY STAFF BUT KEENLY FEEL THE NEED FOR MORE YOUNG OFFICERS WHO HAVE THE ENTHUSIASM AND IMAGINATION TO TRANSLATE THE GENERAL PROGRAM I HAVE OUTLINED INTO ACTION. ONE SUGGESTION WHICH ATTRACTS ME IS THAT YOUNG OFFICERS WHO MIGHT BE EXPECTED TO SERVE IN THE UK LATER IN THEIR CAREER SHOULD SPEND A YEAR OR TWO AT SOME BRITISH "ESTABLISHMENT" INSTITUTION MUCH AS SOME FSO'S DO IN FRANCE (AT THE ECOLE NATIONAL D'ADMINISTRATION) BEFORE THEY ARE ASSIGNED TO OUR EMBASSY IN PARIS. IN SOCIETIES LIKE THE BRITISH WHERE THE "OLD BOY NET" IS STILL VERY MUCH ALIVE, EARLY ACQUAINTANCE WITH RISING YOUNGER POLITICAL AND CIVIL SERVICE OFFICIALS WOULD BE OF INESTIMABLE VALUE TO THE OFFICER LATER IN HIS CAREER. FINALLY, IT WOULD BE MOST DESIRABLE FOR US TO HAVE MORE

OFFICERS WITH BACKGROUND IN SOCIAL POLICY AND AN UNDER-  
STANDING OF HUMAN DYNAMICS IF WE ARE GOING TO BE ABLE  
TO WEIGH SENSITIVELY THE FACTORS OF CHANGE AT WORK IN  
BRITAIN.

7. SPECIALIZED FUNCTIONS

GENERALLY, I HAVE ALMOST TO TAKE ON FAITH THE RE-  
QUIREMENT BOTH FOR THE EXISTENCE AND MANNING LEVELS OF  
THE SPECIALIZED AGENCY OFFICES HERE. CUSTOMS, IRS, FBI,  
DEA, AGRICULTURE, FAA, COAST GUARD, ETC. PRESUMABLY FEEL  
THAT THE FUNCTIONS PERFORMED ARE SUFFICIENTLY IMPORTANT  
TO CENTRAL OFFICES TO JUSTIFY THE CONSIDERABLE EXPENSE  
OF KEEPING PERSONNEL HERE. THIS MAY BE WRONG, AND  
BUREAUCRATIC INERTIA AND OTHER FACTORS MAY BE MORE IM-  
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PAGE 03 LONDON 14828 03 OF 04 251846Z

PORTANT THAN COST-EFFECTIVENESS CONSIDERATIONS. THIS,  
HOWEVER, IS A PROBLEM WHICH CAN ONLY BE VIEWED IN ITS  
TOTALITY FROM WASHINGTON, PARTICULARLY SINCE IN SOME  
CASES REGIONAL RESPONSIBILITIES ARE INVOLVED.

8. DEFENSE ATTACHE

EVER SINCE I WAS UNDER SECRETARY, I HAVE FELT THAT  
THE DEFENSE ELEMENTS OF OUR MISSIONS OVERSEAS WERE  
WRONGLY ORGANIZED. THEY SHOULD NOT BE APPENDAGES OF  
DIA, BUT OF THE DEPARTMENT OF DEFENSE AS A WHOLE AND  
CLEARLY CHARGED WITH THE RESPONSIBILITY FOR REPRESENTING  
THE DEFENSE INTERESTS OF THE US ACROSS THE BOARD -- IN  
NEGOTIATING, REPRESENTATION, ARM SALES, REPORTING, ETC.  
THEY MIGHT WELL INCLUDE IN CERTAIN INSTANCES CIVILIAN  
OFFICERS ASSIGNED FROM ISA OR OTHER PARTS OF THE -  
PENTAGON. INTELLIGENCE, IN MY VIEW, IMPLIES TOO NARROW

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PAGE 01 LONDON 14828 04 OF 04 251848Z

ACTION SS-25

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LIMITED OFFICIAL USE SECTION 04 OF 04 LONDON 14828

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A VIEW OF THEIR FUNCTIONS. THEY SHOULD BE SELECTED, TRAINED AND BACKSTOPPED BY ISA (OR PERHAPS ISA AND JCS JOINTLY), RATHER THAN BY DIA, WHICH IS CONCERNED WITH ONLY ONE -- AND NOT THE MOST IMPORTANT -- PART OF THEIR FUNCTIONS. DDR&E, I&L, ETC. HAVE COMPARABLE INTERESTS IN WHAT IS GOING ON OVERSEAS. THIS, I RECOGNIZE, IS A BASIC CONCEPTUAL PROBLEM. I SUSPECT OUR DEFENSE CONTINGENT HERE COULD BE REDUCED FROM ITS PRESENT 35 WHICH IS LARGER THAN OUR POLITICAL SECTION, BUT BY AND LARGE I FEEL THE PRESENT ARRANGEMENT IS AN ANACHRONISM. PARENTHETICALLY, I WOULD ALSO LIKE TO SEE A CHANGE IN PRESENT PROCEDURES UNDER WHICH TELEGRAMS EMANATING FROM DAO AND PAO ARE SENT OUT OTHER THAN UNDER CHIEF OF MISSION SIGNATURE. IF CHIEF OF MISSION MEANS WHAT THE TITLE IMPLIES AND PRESIDENT'S LETTER STATES, HE IS RESPONSIBLE FOR ALL MISSION ELEMENTS AND THIS SHOULD BE REFLECTED IN SUCH PRACTICES AS HAVING ALL MESSAGES GO OUT UNDER COM AUTHORITY.

#### 9. EUROPEAN MEETINGS

INCREASINGLY WE MUST SEE EUROPE AS A REGION, THE INDIVIDUAL COUNTRIES OF WHICH FACE PROBLEMS AND ISSUES WHICH HAVE A GREAT DEAL IN COMMON. THIS ARGUES, IN MY VIEW, FOR SUBSTANTIALLY MORE FACE-TO-FACE INTERCHANGE AMONG OUR KEY OFFICERS IN THE EMBASSIES IN WESTERN

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PAGE 02 LONDON 14828 04 OF 04 251848Z

EUROPE. THIS MEANS MONEY BUT I HAVE NO DOUBT THAT IT WOULD BE MONEY WELL SPENT. FOR EXAMPLE, IN BRITAIN WE HEAR A GREAT DEAL ABOUT THE ADVANTAGES AND DISADVANTAGES OF SOME OF THE SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC EXPERIMENTATION THAT HAS TAKEN PLACE IN SWEDEN IN INDUSTRIAL DEMOCRACY, UNION-MANAGEMENT RELATIONS, OR THE FRENCH EXPERIENCES IN DIRECTED INVESTMENT AND "INDICATIVE" PLANNING, ETC. IT WOULD BE INVALUABLE TO HAVE SOMEONE FROM HERE GO TO



THESE COUNTRIES FOR CONSULTATIONS ON SOME OF THESE ISSUES. IN GENERAL, I THINK IT WOULD BE VERY WORTHWHILE TO SUPPLEMENT CHIEFS OF MISSION MEETINGS WITH PERIODIC (PERHAPS EVERY 3 MONTHS) REGIONAL MEETINGS IN WHICH DCMS, CHIEFS OF POLITICAL AND ECONOMIC SECTIONS COULD TAKE PART. THIS WOULD GIVE AN ADDED DEPTH AND DIMENSION, I SHOULD THINK, TO THE QUALITY OF ASSESSMENTS FROM ALL OF OUR POSTS. I DO NOT THINK THAT READING CABLES IS A SATISFACTORY SUBSTITUTE.

10. SUMMARY

TO SUM UP, THE CENTRAL MISSION OF THIS EMBASSY SHOULD BE TO KNOW AS MUCH AS POSSIBLE ABOUT WHAT IS HAPPENING IN BRITAIN OF RELEVANCE TO THE US WHETHER IT BE IN THE SECURITY FIELD, UK MEMBERSHIP IN THE EC, TRADE AND INVESTMENT, OR SOCIAL-ECONOMIC POLICY; TO BE ABLE TO ENGAGE THE BRITISH IN CONTINUING DIALOGUE ABOUT COMMON PROBLEMS, SEEKING WHERE POSSIBLE TO FIND WAYS WHERE WE CAN USEFULLY COLLABORATE EITHER IN IMPLEMENTATION OF AGREED POLICIES OR RECOMMENDING NEW DEPARTURES; AND TO TRY TO EXERT MEANINGFUL BUT DISCREET INFLUENCE ON BRITISH INSTITUTIONS, OPINION AND DECISION MAKERS. ACTIVITIES PERIPHERAL TO THIS CENTRAL MISSION SHOULD BE RIGOROUSLY EXAMINED AND IF NECESSARY REDUCED OR ELIMINATED.

RICHARDSON

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